846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 888 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[10] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
[175] deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

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614 428 that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as [423] such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The [585] only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage [586] with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

614 616 The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan [835] and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. [587] [582] Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

614 [775] The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

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their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."[28] Contact between the two regions has completely terminated since that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area indicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the common-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive contact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region adjacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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578 837 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

595 Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

582 616 The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of 835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be related, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a person of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, permissible within the moiety system and occasionally occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate [18] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

[18] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

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KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

582 604 Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[19] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[20] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[21] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[22] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mun- [835] durucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle.

174 582 604 171 Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[23] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

[19] *See* pp. 93–94.

[20] Kirchoff (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[21] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[22] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

[23] Watson, 1952, pp. 118–121.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates.

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured.

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

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601

we šit sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters
da ũ ũ father's sister's daughter
we ši mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
o pöt son; brother's son
o ra šit daughter; brother's daughter
rašenyebit grandchildren (all categories)

582 601 [711]

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupí-Guaraní type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão.* It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both of whom are subsumed under the term *adjung*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, can be the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this view comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ši*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To classify

* Wagley and Galvão, 1946.

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582 601 further the brother's wife as *we ši* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term *we ši* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.[a] Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avuncular marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservatism of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

114 582 601 The method of analysis employed above seems to be in violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society."[b] It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all three practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

[a] Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 51.
[b] Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

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multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."[a]

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.[b] Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *we ñ* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*but*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*wun yũ*) or "younger (*o kõt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekũt*) and "grandsons" (*tapõ*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ñ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapõ*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

[a] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[b] *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 90; Gillin, 1936, pp. 92-96.

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village,

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clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

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pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals.

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups.

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the nonequivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the